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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8507

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 194

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

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EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PARM, EGEN

SUBJ: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS - SEPTEMBER 23-27

1. SUMMARY: THE SOVIETS MAINTAINED THEIR TOUGH STANCE

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ON MULITARY SECURITY AND HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION

(BASKET III) THIS WEEK, WHILE WORKING ACTIVELY TO ADVANCE DRAFTING ON INTERSTATE PRINCIPLES AND ECONOMIC SUBJECTS. WESTERN COUNTRIES RESPONDED WITH RENEWED DETERMINATION TO ENSURE THAT BASKET III PROPOSALS ARE GIVEN FULL CONSIDERATION, BUT NO PROGRESS WAS MADE IN THIS SUBJECT AREA. ELSEWHERE IN THE CONFERENCE, A FORMULA WAS FOUND FOR MEETING THE SOVIET DEMAND FOR A REFERENCE TO THE UN COVENANTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS PRINCIPLE, AND A CLAUSE COVERING ARBITRATION OF COMMERCIAL DISPUTES WAS REGISTERED ON THE BASIS OF A US PROPOSAL. END SUMMARY.

- 2. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION -- IMPASSE ON DRAFTING OF HUMAN RIGHTS PRINCIPLE WAS BROKEN AS SUBCOMMITTEE AGREED TO SOVIET DEMAND FOR REFERENCE TO UN COVENANTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS. USE OF SEPARATE SENTENCE AND DIFFERENT WORDING NEVERTHELESS IMPLIED TREATMENT OF COVENANTS ON LOWER LEVEL THAN UN CHARTER AND UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS MENTIONED IN PRECEDING SENTENCE. WORK ON ROMANIAN PROPOSAL FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF NON-USE OF FORCE PRINCIPLE STALLED WHEN FRG, ACTING ON INSTRUCTIONS, REFUSED FURTHER DRAFTING PENDING DECISIONS ON PLACEMENT OF ROMANIAN PARAGRAPHS IN THE FINAL DOCUMENT, AND ON WORDING OF AN INTRODUCTORY SENTENCE.
- 3. MILITARY SECURITY -- PACE OF WORK OF SUBCOMMITTEE SLOWED, WITH TWO INFORMAL MEETINGS AND ONE FORMAL SESSION DURING THE WEEK. DISCUSSION IN INFORMAL SESSIONS CONTINUED TO FOCUS ON OTHER (NON-CBM) ASPECTS OF MILITARY SECURITY. AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE HEAVILY-BRACKETED DOCUMENT WHICH HAS BEEN REGISTERED ON THIS SUBJECT, AND IN AN EFFORT TO PROMOTE A COMPROMISE, THE UK DELEGATION PUT FORWARD AN OUTLINE OF GENERAL CONCEPTS WHICH AVOIDS THE MORE CONTROVERSIAL FETURES OF THE PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED TEXT. BRITISH APPROACH DID NOT ACHIEVE BREAK-THROUGH BUT REMAINS UNDER CONSIDERATION. MUCH OF SUBCOMMITTEE'S DEBATE CENTERED ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EUROPEAN SECURITY, WORLD SECURITY AND SECURITY OF THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA. CONFIDENTIAL

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DISCUSSION OF THESE AND OTHER ISSUES FAILED TO PRODUCE ANY AGREED LANGUAGE, BUT IT DID SERVE TO MAKE IT CLEAR TO THE NEUTRALS THAT THEIR OBJECTIVE OF HAVING CSCE RECOGNIZE THEIR "RIGHT" TO BE CONSULTED ON SUCH MATTERS AS MBFR NEGOTIATIONS CANNOT BE ACHIEVED. THE FORMAL SESSION RETURNED TO CBM'S WITH A GENERAL AND REPETITIVE DISCUSSION.

- 4. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY -- FULL COMMITTEE HAD AN INCONCLUSIVE DISCUSSION OF AN EASTERN PROPOSAL CONCERNING THE NAUTRE OF THE UNDERTAKING TO CARRY OUT THE GUIDELEINES AND RECOMMENDATIONS AGREED IN THIS SUBJECT AREA, AND THE ROLE OF BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL AGREEMENTS WHEREIN. SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES REGISTERED AN OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH BASED ON THE US PROPOSAL ON ARBITRATION, AND THUS COMPLETED ITS WORK ON THAT SUBJECT. THE NEWLY REGISTERED TEXT MEETS THE US OBJECTIVE OF RECOGNITION THAT ARBITRATION IN A THIRD COUNTRY IS THE NORMAL AND PREFERABLE PRACTICE. THE SUBCOMMITTEE THEN BEGAN DISCUSSION OF EASTERN PROPOSALS CONCERNING BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL AGREE-MENTS AND CREDITS. INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION SUBCOMMITTEE CONTINUED ATTEMPTS TO DRAFT AGREED LANGUAGE ON CONTACTS BETWEEN PERSONNEL ENGAGED IN INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION PROJECTS. US DEL INTRODUCED LANGUAGE ON ARBITRATION, FOLLOWING LINES AGREED IN COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES. SUB-COMMITTEES ON OTHER ECONOMIC AREAS AND SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY DID NOT MEET.
- 5. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION -- HUMAN CONTACTS SUB-COMMITTEE HELD FREQUENT INFORMAL DRAFTING MEETINGS ON FAMILY REUNIFICATION AND MARRIAGE BETWEEN NATIONLAS OF DIFFERENT STATES, BUT WAS HELD UP OVER THE CONTINUED SOVIET INSISTENCE THAT AGREEMENTS BE CARRIED OUT UNDER "MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS." THE SOVIETS ARE UNWILLING TO NEGOTIATE UNTIL A RESTRICTIVE PHRASE OF THIS KIND IS ACCEPTED BY THE WEST, AND THE EC-O AND NATO GROUPS ARE SEEKING WAYS TO BREAK THE RESULTING PROCEDURAL DEADLOCK. IN THE INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEE, INFORMAL GROUPS CONTINUED DRAFTING ON ACCESS TO PRINTED INFORMATION, WITH THE WEST ATTEMPTING TO GET THE SOVIETS CONFIDENTIAL

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TO LIVE UP TO THEIR PRE-SUMMER AGREEMENT ON "ACCESS BY THE PUBLIC" OR SOME OTHER ACCEPTABLE FORMULATION TO DEFINE WHO SHALL HAVE ACCESS. EDUCATION SUBCOMMITTEE,

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SR-02 ORM-03 SCI-06 EPA-04 CEQ-02 NSF-04 STR-08

CIEP-03 COME-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 AGR-20 USIE-00

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INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 195

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FACED WITH DIFFICULT DISCUSSIO OF INTRODUCTORY PASSAGE, TURNED FOR THE TIME BEING TO NON-CONTENTIOUS ITEM ON LANGUAGE TEACHING. CULTURE SUBCOMMITTEE REACHED TENTATIVE AGREEMENT ON TEXT FOR FACILITATING TRANSLATIONS, AND BEGAN DISCUSSION OF DISTRIBUTION OF FILMS.

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6. MEDITERRANEAN -- THIS WORKING GROUP, WHICH HAS NOT YET REGISTERED A SINGLE SENTENCE, CAME CLOSE TO AGREEMENT ON A TEXT ON PROTECTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA, BUT REGISTRATION WAS BLOCKED BY LAST MINUTE SOVIET HESITATIONS OVER REFERENCES TO

NON-PARTICIPATING STATES.

- 7. FOLLOW-UP -- WORKING GROUP TOOK FORMAL DECISION TO BEGIN DRAFTING A RESOLUTION ON GENERAL FOLLOW-UP BUT HESITATED OVER HOW TO TACKLE THIS JOB, IN VIEW OF BASIC DIFFERENCES OVER THE CONCEPT OF FOLLOW-UP. YUGOSLAVS CONTRIBUTED A LIST OF ELEMENTS WHICH SHOULD BE REFLECTED IN A PREAMBLE TO THE FOLLOW-UP RESOLUTION, AS A DEVICE FOR ORGANIZING DRAFTING WORK.
- 8. COMMENT: THE PRESENT SOVIET PRECONDITION TO PROGRESS IN BASKET III -- THEIR INSITENCE ON A PHRASE ON "MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS" -- HAS BLOCKED MOVE-MENT SINCE LAST JULY. MANY WESTERN DELEGATES CONSIDER THIS QUESTION FUNDAMENTAL TO THE MEANING OF THE CONFEENCE, AND HAD THOUGHT THE ISSUE WAS RESOLVED DURING PREPARATORY TALKS IN HELSINKI. ALTHOUGH THE HELSINKI MANDATES MENTION THAT HUMAN CONTACTS QUESTIONS SHOULD BE SETTLED "UNDER MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS", THE WESTERN UNDERSTANDING, EXPRESSED IN HELSINKI WITH NO OBJECTION BY THE SOVIETS, WAS THAT THE "MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE CONDITION" WOULD BE WORKED OUT AT THE CSCE ITSELF. NOW, HOWEVER, THE SOVIETS ARE INSISTING ON LANGUAGE WHICH WILL IMPLY THAT CSCE AGREEMENTS WILL TAKE EFFECT ONLY WHEN "MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS" HAVE BEEN WORKED OUT, PRESUMABLY BILATERALLY AT SOME LATER DATE. THE UNANIMOUS WESTERN VIEW IS THAT SUCH LANGUAGE WOULD ROB THE WORK OF THE CSCE IN THIS AREA OF MUCH OF ITS SIGNIFICANCE.
- 9. DESPITE THE APPARENT AMBIGUITY IN THE RECENT SOVIET VIEW OF CSCE, IT SEEMS CLEAR FROM SEVERAL INDICATIONS, INCLUDING GROMYKO'S SPEECH AT THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THAT SOVIET LEADERSHIP IS STILL KEEN ON AN EARLY SUMMIT CONCLUSION TO THE CONFERENCE. THEIR PRESENT BASKET III TACTICS DO NOT CONTRADICT THIS CONFIDENTIAL

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POLICY, BUT MUST BE SEEN AS COMPLEMENTING THE BROAD STRATEGY THE SOVIETS CONTINUE TO FOLLOW WITHIN THE CONFERENCE ITSELF: TO DELAY ANY CONCRETE PROGRESS ON THOSE SUBJECTS WHICH THEY FIND DISTASTEFUL UNTIL THE CONFERENCE IS NEAR ITS CONCLUSION, WHEN MEANINGFUL RESULTS CAN BE SQUEEZED OUT IN THE GENERAL RUSH TO THE FINISH.

10. NEVERTHELESS, THIS CONTINUING SOVIET BLOCKAGE OF BASKET III IS SLOWLY PRODUCING THE KIND OF PRESSURES WHICH IN THE PAST HAVE FORCED THE CSCE TO FIND COMPROMISE SOLUTIONS. IN THIS CASE, SEVERAL NEUTRAL

DELEGATIONS, LED BY THE SWISS, ARE TALKING ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A NEW PACKAGE DEAL TO STRIKE AN OVERALL BARGAIN ON HUMAN CONTACTS. SUCH A PACKAGE WOULD TAKE SOME TIME TO DEVELOP AND MATURE, BUT COULD, IF ACCEPTED, PROVIDE THE CONFERENCE WITH THE DEVICE IT NEEDS TO REACH AGREEMENT ON BASKET III ISSUES. END COMMENT.

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